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The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?

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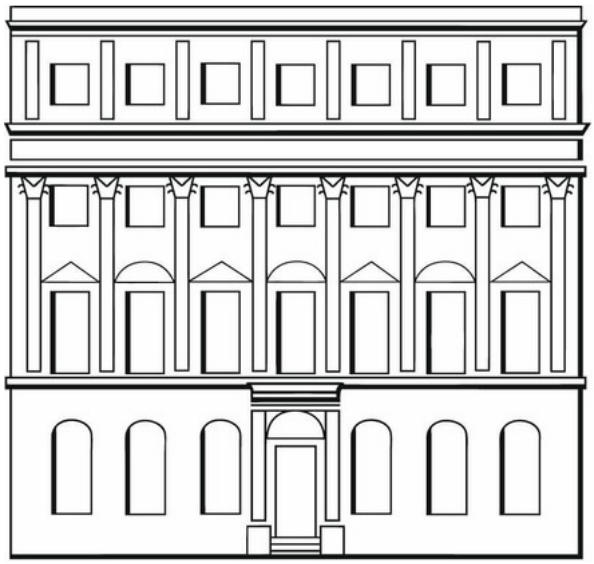

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The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy
A Model for Europe?

WERNER PARAVICINI

IT is generally accepted that the Burgundian court served as a model for the early modern courts of Europe.[1] My research on the Burgundian court, in particular my work in editing the household ordinances, which have now reached the year 1433 (not, therefore, very far)[2] suggests, however, that what is regarded as general knowledge is not founded upon fact. Comprehensive accounts of research on the Burgundian court will probably not be available for many years.[3] One of the

[1] See L. Pfandl, 'Philipp II. und die Einführung des burgundischen Hofzeremoniells in Spanien', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 58 (1938), pp. 1–33, practically identical with the same author's *Philipp II.* (Munich, 1938), ch. 8, pp. 120–57. Cf. J. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters* (1919), ed. K. Köster (Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 51 ff.; M. Mollat, *Genèse médiévale de la France moderne, XIV^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1977), p. 173. B. Guenée, *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Les États* (Nouvelle Clio, 22; 1st edn., Paris, 1971; 3rd edn., 1987), pp. 148–50.

[2] W. Paravicini, 'Die Hofordnungen Herzog Philipps des Guten von Burgund'. Edition (1) 'Die Hofordnungen Herzog Johanns für Philipp, Grafen von Charolais, von 1407, 1409 und 1415', *Francia*, 10 (1982), pp. 131–66; (2) 'Die verlorene Hofordnung von 1419/1421. Die Hofordnung von 1426/1427', *Francia*, 11 (1983), pp. 257–301; (3): 'Die Hofordnung für Herzogin Isabella von Portugal von 1430', *Francia*, 13 (1985), pp. 191–211; (4) 'Die verlorenen Hofordnungen von 1431/1432. Die Hofordnung von 1433', *Francia*, 15 (1987) [pub. 1989], pp. 183–231. Idem, 'Soziale Schichtung und soziale Mobilität am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund', *Francia*, 5 (1977), pp. 127–82; idem, 'Expansion et intégration. La noblesse des Pays-Bas à la cour de Philippe le Bon', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 95 (1980), pp. 298–314; idem, ' "Ordonnances de l'Hôtel" und "Escroes des gaiges". Wege zu einer prosopographischen Erforschung des burgundischen Staats im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert', in N. Bulst and J.-Ph. Genet (edd.), *Medieval Lives and the Historian, Studies in Medieval Prosopography* (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 243–66; idem, 'Die Residenzen der Herzöge von Burgund, 1363–1477', in H. Patze and W. Paravicini (edd.), *Fürstliche Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa* (Vorträge und Forschungen, 36; Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 207–63.

[3] See the bibliographies in the articles cited in n. 2, especially the works of U. Schwarzkopf, C. A. J. Armstrong, and M.-A. Arnould. Peter Arnade, from the Department of History, State University of New York, Binghamton, is working on a Ph.D. thesis on the Burgundian court, supervised by Professor R. C. Trexler.

most intersting gaps in our knowledge of the Burgundian court is what happened after 1477, that is, after the death of Charles the Bold. While I cannot fill that gap here, I shall offer some initial observations. Above all, however, I shall raise a number of questions.

This chapter is divided into three parts: first, a description of the structure and functions of the Burgundian court in the time of the great dukes, in particular, Philip the Good and Charles the Bold (1419–77); secondly, an analysis of what was specifically Burgundian about the Burgundian court (an extraordinarily difficult undertakings as will become clear); and finally, a discussion of the impact of the Burgundian model.

First, however, a note on the sources. The series of Burgundian household ordinances that begins in 1426 is unique in European history and can be combined with the daily account records, approximately 5 per cent of which have survived, to make it possible to undertake a quantitative investigation (which has not yet been carried out) of the personnel of the ducal court in the various offices during this time.[4] However, this extremely valuable material tells us nothing of the relations of power either within or outside the court, nor does it tell us very much about etiquette and ceremonies. The household ordinances detail who is entitled to receive salaries and provisions. They do not, however, tell us what all these people really did nor how they went about it. This situation changes under Charles the Bold, who succeeded as duke in 1469. From this date onwards descriptions of offices without the names of those who filled them appear alongside the usual household ordinances, which took the form of lists of offices.[5] However, these descriptions do not constitute genuine records of ceremony either.

Another Ph.D. thesis, on the duel in France and Burgundy in the 14th and 15th cent., is being prepared by Anette Lindner under the supervision of Professor A. Nitschke at the university of Stuttgart; cf. A. Reese and U. Uffelmann (edd.), *Bewegungen in Mittelalter und Renaissance, Kämpfe, Spiele, Tänze, Zeremoniell und Umgangsformen* (Historisches Seminar, 2; Düsseldorf, 1987). A projected thesis on the order of the Golden Fleece is mentioned below, no. 40; on the prosopographical side of Charles the Bold's rise to power, see below, n. 47.

[4] Paravicini, 'Ordonnances de l'Hôtel', but see below, n. 47 and 59.

[5] These are (1) the general ordinance Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Hatton 13: *Ce sont les ordonnances de l'hostel de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoine en tous estas*, dated

Two very important texts to some extent fill the gap that these principal sources leave in the historical record. The memoirs of Aliénor de Poitiers, whose mother had been lady-in-waiting to Isabella of Portugal, the wife of Philip the Good, consist of nothing but questions of rank, etiquette, and ceremony, most of which he directly experienced.[6] In 1473 Olivier de la Marche, master of the household and captain of the guard to Charles the Bold, gave an extensive, systematic description of the duke's household.[7] Further information regarding the reality of court life must be gleaned from a wide range of sources: from ambassadors reports and other letters from the court, the writings of foreign travellers, and chronicles, as well as financial accounts and bills.

I

Five functions performed by the court can be distinguished.

1.1. Organizing daily life

Providing food and drink, accommodation, health care, entertainment, religious services, transport, and billeting for himself and his entourage were all basic responsibilities of the

Brussels, 1 Jan. 1469 (n. st.); (2) the particular *Ordonnance touchant la conduite du premier escuier d'escuerie de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne faisant la despence*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod. s.n. 2616, undated; and (3) the particular *Ordonnances touchant la conduicte des quatre chambellans de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne chiefs du terme de trois moys eulz estans en l'ostel d'icellui seigneur*, followed by *Autres ordonnances faictes par mondit seigneur le duc touchant la guerre*, ibid., cod. 14270, undated. The Vienna MSS are described by D. Thoss, *Flämische Buchmalerie. Handschriftenschätze aus dem Burgunderreich. Ausstellung der Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz, 1987), pp. 62–4 nn. 21–2. On (1) and (2) see A. de Schryver, 'Nicolas Spierinc, calligraphe et enlumineur des Ordonnances des États de l'Hôtel de Charles le Téméraire', *Sciptorium*, 23 (1969), pp. 434–58; (3) has not been mentioned yet in any study on the Burgundian court, but see C. Hofmann, *Das Spanische Hofzeremoniell von 1500–1700* (Erlanger Historische Studien, 8; Frankfurt-on-Main, Berne and New York, 1985), p. 50 n. 3 (dating 1470).

[6] A. de Poitiers, 'Les Honneurs de la cour (1484/89), in J.-B. de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, ii (Paris, 1781), pp. 169–282. The badly needed new edition is being prepared by Jacques Monfrin, of Paris.

[7] O. de la Marche, 'L'Estat et la maison du duc Charles de Burgoingne, dit le Hardy', in H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont (edd.), *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, iv (Paris, 1888), pp. 1–94. A new critical and commented edition of this text would be welcome.

ruler who, even in the fifteenth century, was constantly on the move with his household. However, the provision of these functions was a subordinate activity. A gentleman of the chamber (*chambellan*) would never make his lord's bed; that was a job for the valet, or rather, for his subordinates. There was a tendency for the actual function of an office to be increasingly devalued, and to become distinct from the title. Olivier de la Marche notes that the great master of the household and the heads of the 'four offices' served the duke only at the four nativity festivals in the year, and whenever he held solemn court (*quant le prince tient estat solennel*).[8] The principal services at the court were therefore made up of a noble and non-noble component: gentlemen of the chamber on the one hand, and valets on the other; pantlers (*pannetiers*), cup-bearers (*échansons*), carvers (*écuyers tranchants*), and equerries (*écuyers d'écurie*) on the one hand and, on the other, the *sommeliers* and *aides* in these same services who performed the actual work. Even cooking was not controlled by the chief cook (who similarly was only involved on exceptional occasions); rather it was supervised by noble 'esquires of the kitchen' (*écuyers de cuisine*).

None the less, a strong countervailing tendency existed. Its origin lay in the importance of direct contact with the prince: 'In the prince's chamber, the chief pensionary or the (first) gentleman of the chamber must attend to putting the Prince's nightcap on his head; and the more intimate the service performed for the prince, the greater the honour', writes Olivier de la Marche.[9] Intimacy with the prince was a sign of social status and for everyone, whether high or low ranking, it represented a source of informal power, which aroused jealousy and was constantly under threat. Even in the Burgundian court, there were cases of people rising to higher office from such positions of trust. The names of Jean Coustain, Jean le Tourneur, and Guillaume de Bisches may be cited as examples.[10] It appears that every type of court

[8] De la Marche, *L'Estat*, pp. 13, 25, 33; he does not mention the service of the first equerry. The 4 nativities are Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and All Saints' Day.

[9] Ibid. 40.

[10] J. Bartier, *Légistes et gens des finances au XV^e siècle. Les conseillers des ducs de Burgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels, 1955–7), passim (Tourneur). Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung' (above, n. 2), p. 169, no. 10 (Bisches). M.-Th. Caron, *La*

duty underwent a revaluation of this kind under Philip the Good and especially under Charles the Bold. The gap between offices and their functions began to close again, as the person of the prince became increasingly sacralized, to the extent that he could be approached only on bended knee and his subjects had to kiss respectfully everything he touched.

Princely life derived its splendour from things which lay beyond the simple necessities of human existence; *vivre noblement* was defined by contrast with simple living.[11] It involved amusement of various sorts: playing draughts, reading, or conversation in the evening when the day's work was done,[12] badminton (for which specialized buildings were erected), hunting or tournaments, and great festivals, both religious and secular. There was even institutionalized entertainment, which the court jester (and there were several of both sexes at the Burgundian court) was called on to provide.[13] Another object of princely diversion was provided by the lands that were laid out as parks or zoological gardens, such as those in Brussels, Ghent, Quesnoy in Hainault (Artois), the latter the perfect example of a summer residence.[14]

1.2. The prince's safety: access to his person

Ensuring the security of the prince was one of the primary duties of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. Philippe de Commynes, who was then *chambellan*, was therefore at his

Noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne, 1316–1477 (Lille, 1987), pp. 155–60 (Coustain). Cf. in general H. Kellenbenz, 'Der Kammerdiener, ein Typus der höfischen Gesellschaft. Seine Rolle als Unternehmer', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 72 (1985), pp. 476–507.

[11] Cf. E. Dravasa, *'Vivre noblement'. Recherches sur la dérogeance de noblesse du XIV^e au XVI^e siècles* (Bordeaux, 1965).

[12] O. de la Marche, *Mémoires*, ii (1884), and W. Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu* (Pariser Historische Studien, 12; Bonn, 1975), p. 89; de la Marche, *L'Estat* (above, n. 7), p. 16. G. Soldi Rondinini, 'Aspects de la vie des cours de France et de Bourgogne par les dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais (seconde moitié du XV^e siècle)', in *Adelige Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters. Internat. Kongress Krems a. d. Donau 1980* (Vienna, 1982), 195–214, p. 214.

[13] I am preparing a paper on this subject.

[14] On Burgundian residences in general see Paravicini 'Die Residenzen' (above, n. 2), on Hesdin in particular Anne van Buren-Hagopian (who is preparing a book on this matter), 'Un jardin d'amour de Philipe le Bon au parc de Hesdin. Le rôle de Vann Eyck dans une commande ducale', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 3 (1985), pp. 185–92; eadem, 'Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin', in

master's side when 600 soldiers from the margravate of Franchimont carried out their heroic attack outside Liège, which, it is said, almost cost the lives of Charles the Bold and Louis XI:

I was sleeping in the duke of Burgundy's room, which was very small, with two other gentlemen of his chamber. Below us there were only twelve fully equipped archers on guard who were playing dice. The duke's main watch was some distance away from him near the town gate.[15]

Whatever foreign observers may have written about its strength,[16] in the reign of Duke Philip, the ducal guard consisted only of 24 archers in peacetime. His son Charles, who was very security minded, raised the figure considerably. It had risen to 42 by 1469, and increased from 64 to 102 in the course of 1475. The guard properly speaking was instituted in 1474: it consisted of 126 noblemen, the same number of archers, and 14 coustilliers. In the same year, the English guard was established: 12 squadrons of 60 archers each under the command of heavily armed captains—732 men in all. With 1,200 men *in toto*, this is, to my knowledge, the most powerful guard a European ruler of the fifteenth century ever mustered.[17]

Medieval Gardens (Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), pp. 117–34; eadem, 'La Roulotte de Philippe le Bon', *Mélanges Pierre Bougard* (Arras, 1987), pp. 115–22.

[15] P. de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette and G. Durville, ii (Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, 5; Paris, 1925), p. 12, and *Memoirs. The Reign of Louis XI. 1461–83*, trans. with an introd. by M. Jones (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 156.

[16] M. Letts (ed.), *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital . . . 1465–1467* (Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 108., Cambridge, 1957), Schaseck text, p. 36: 'He [the Duke] led them [the Count of Charolais and Leo of Rozmital] into his own *chambre* through nine other rooms [in the Palace in Brussels, 31 Jan. 1466]. In the vestibule of each some hundred men-at-arms were on guard. Whether this is always so I did not discover. But I was told, when I asked, that at no time of the night or day were there fewer guards. If this is so I can affirm that no other Christian king keeps such a splendid court.' Cf. B. Svatos, 'Un témoignage tchèque sur la Belgique à l'époque des ducs de Bourgogne', *Université Libre de Bruxelles. Annuaire de l'Inst. de philol. et d'hist. orientales et slaves*, 14 (1954–7), pp. 391–7; A. van Crugten, 'Un voyageur de Bohème à la cour de Bourgogne', *Cahiers bruxellois*, 21 (1976), pp. 60–8.

[17] W. Paravicini, *Karl der Kühne. Das Ende des Hauses Burgund* (Persönlichkeit und Geschichte, 94/95; Göttingen 1976), p. 65. Household ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 5), fos. 45v–46v. De la Marche, *L'Estat*, pp. 71 ff., 88 f. Cf. Ph. Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge. Études sur les armées des rois de France 1337–1494* (Paris and The Hague, 1972), pp. 294–7; R. Hennell, *The History of the King's Body Guard of the Yeomen of the Guard . . . 1485 to 1904* (Westminster, 1904).

This was the origin of what later became known at the Burgundian court as the 'maison militaire'. There was, however, another aspect of this phenomenon. As early as 1433, Duke Philip the Good issued a court ordinance ordering every member of his court to maintain a number of armed servants and archers, commensurate with the number of horses he kept (which were fed at the duke's expense).[18] This militarization advanced at an unprecedented pace under Charles the Bold. Eventually it led to duplication as the same persons belonged both to the 'maison civile' and the 'maison militaire'. Duke Charles also increased the complement of nobles in his immediate entourage, adding 16 esquires of the privy chamber, who were aptly named, since, to quote Olivier de la Marche, they 'slept near his chamber, to some extent as protection for his person'.[19]

1.3. Impressing rivals and subjects

The splendour and the inspired staging of grand entries, wedding ceremonies, tournaments, banquets, and funerals served no other purpose than to make a conspicuous display of the power and dignity of the ruler before the eyes of foreigners and the local population, his rivals, and his subjects.[20] Foreign ambassadors studied the machinery of this theatre of power very closely. The duke of Milan's ambassador perceived Duke Philip's ceremonial gathering of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1461 as a demonstration of religion, sublimity, and magnificence.[21] These ambassadors appraised and noted the value of the clothes and jewellery worn by the duke, of the gold and silver ware that was laid out on furniture designed specifically for the purpose. And they were forced to confess that their own lord could not afford such luxury. The Milanese ambassador, Panigarola, for example, informed his lord that the duke of Burgundy's throne was quite similar to his own 'cathedra', but was made not of wood, but of solid

[18] Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen', 4 (above, n. 2), no. 9, § 444.

[19] De la Marche, *L'Estat*, p. 16: 'par une manière de seureté de sa personne'.

[20] Cf. A. van Nieuwenhuysen, *Les Finances du duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Hardi (1384–1404). Economie et politique* (Brussels, 1984), part 2, ch. 4, pp. 385–403: 'Le luxe et l'ostentation'.

[21] Soldi Rondinini (above, n. 12), p. 210: 'religione, sublimità, apparati'.

gold—a point on which our observer was, by the way, quite mistaken (or may, perhaps, have been deliberately deceived).[22]

The display of wealth is one of the classic ways of making an impression on others. It was for his purpose that the Nuremberg patrician Gabriel Tetzel was shown the treasury of Duke Philip the Good in Brussels in 1466 as the companion of the Bohemian baron, Leo of Rozmital. He noted the value of the most important pieces and arrived at the conclusion that this treasure was more valuable by far than that of the Venetians, something which he as a Nuremberg merchant was surely well placed to judge.[23] At times, a display of wealth was also used directly as a means of exerting political influence. In order to prove his solvency to the people of Utrecht who were in revolt, Philip sent tapestries and tableware of precious metals there as well as two chests filled with gold coins which anyone was allowed to attempt to lift up.[24]

What impressed foreigners even more was quite simply the number of people who lived at the court at the duke's expense. Thanks to the household ordinances, we know exactly who was entitled to such treatment; 234 office-holders in 1426, 1,030 in 1474.[25] Thanks to the daily account records, we know how many of those entitled to do so were actually resident at the court at any one time: for example, 308 persons on 11 November 1450, 590 plus 294 men of the guard in 1474.[26] However, the real figures must have been many times larger than these since these servants would have their own servants, and other households lived under the duke's roof at his expense, as well as a whole host of people who served without payment, as deputies, in the hope of acquiring a permanent post. Pero Tafur, the Castilian nobleman and traveller, who

[22] Ibid. 212. Cf. F. Deuchler, *Die Burgunderbeute* (Bern, 1963), p. 117, no. 5, and fig. 9 on p. 28: Charles's folding-chair, made of gilt wood (with *ornements* of solid gold and/or silver) was part of the booty of Grandson in 1476; the Swiss gave it to our Lady of Einsiedeln, where it was destroyed by fire in the 18th cent.

[23] *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital* (above, n. 16), Tetzel text, p. 28.

[24] G. Chastellain, *Œuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, iii (Brussels, 1864), pp. 90–2.

[25] Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen', 2, no. 5. Household ordinance of 13 Feb. 1474 (n.st.): Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS français 3867 (copied at the beginning of the 16th cent.).

[26] Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', app. 1, pp. 155–62 (1450). Ordinance of 1474.

saw the Brussels court in 1438 was fascinated by this host of people. Nowhere had he seen such 'bustle' as at the Burgundian court:

Within the duke's household there lived the Count of Saint-Pol, a great lord, with his wife and his entire retinue, the Count of Étampes with his retinue and the Princess of Navarre, his niece with her entire court. Also her brother, the duke of Cleves and the lords of Charny and Créquy, all with their wives and many other gentlepeople of noble station. There are said to be always some 200 noblewomen in the Countess's entourage [*a great exaggeration, a tenth of this might be exact*]. All these people sleep and eat within the Duke's court, along with the unmarried nobles, though these have no servants.[27]

The same amazement at the great number occurs in the account of the squire Schasek, another companion of Leo of Rozmital: no other king (*sic*) in Christendom, he wrote, held court so brilliantly, if, he added, he had really seen it on an ordinary day, and not on some special festival.[28] Olivier de la Marche writes with evident pride that when candles were distributed to the members of the court at Candlemas, they were counted not in hundreds but in thousands.[29] And the Englishman, John Paston, enthusiastically exclaimed: 'And as for the Dwyks coort, as of lords, ladys and gentylwomen, knyts, sqwyers and gentylmen, J hert never of non lyek to it, save kyng Artours cort.'[30]

1.4. The court and the social élites

The prince's power was undoubtedly growing, and the court was becoming the great distribution centre for the constantly growing revenues from extraordinary taxes. It would therefore

[27] Not having access to the edn. by M. Jimenez de la Espada, *Advanças é viages de Pero Tafur* (Madrid, 1874) or to the complete trans. by M. Letts, *Pero Tafur. Travels and Adventures 1435–1439* (London, 1926), I have used the trans. by K. Stehlin and R. Thommen, 'Aus der Reisebeschreibung des Pero Tafur, 1438 und 1439', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 25 (1926), 45–107, pp. 66 f.; cf. H. van der Linden, 'Le Voyage de P. Tafur en Brabant, en Flandre et en Artois (1438)', *Revue du Nord*, 19 (1914), 216–31, pp. 223 f.

[28] Cited above, n. 16.

[29] De la Marche, *L'Estat*, pp. 56 f.

[30] John Paston the younger describing the wedding ceremonies at Bruges in a letter to his mother, dated 8 July 1468 from Bruges; O. Cartellieri, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund. Kulturhistorische Bilder* (Basle, 1926), pp. 143, 178, 297, citing *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner, ii (Westminster, 1900), pp. 317 f.

seem normal to us, as twentieth-century observers, that the various social and regional élites would necessarily become socially and politically integrated at court especially as the rule of the dukes of Burgundy had developed rapidly and Burgundy's identity, situated as it was between France and the Empire, had still to be created. Attracting members of his family and the international nobility to his court; keeping them there and integrating them; binding the regional noble élites, as well as the prelates and patricians of the Flemish, Brabantian, and Dutch cities to the court; gaining the increasingly important expertise of jurists, financiers, theologians, and medical men for the dynasty; all these would seem to us to be the natural objectives of the prince.

Within half a century, the size of the Burgundian court did actually increase fourfold. *Service par terme* had been introduced and systematized at a very early stage. The fact that the number of people at court increased constantly is directly attributable to this system of *service par terme*, that is, on a quarterly, four-monthly or half-yearly basis. In 1426–7, Duke Philip had 9 (or possibly 12) gentlemen of the chamber *sans ordonnance*, that is to say, gentlemen who were only paid when they were at court, and 24 gentlemen *à tour* each serving him for three months, which makes a total of 36 persons. It is certain that at least 9 of them were present at court at any one time. By 1474, Charles the Bold had raised these figures to 44 pensionaries including the first gentlemen of the chamber, who were paid when present; 20 gentlemen of the chamber who served for six months, 30 for four months, and 40 for three months. This amounts to a total of 175 people, of whom 40 had to be present at any given time.[31]

This system was also applied to the noble 'four offices' and also, to a lesser degree, to the non-noble posts. It was probably not a Burgundian invention for it can be seen operating in the household ordinances of King Charles VI of France as early as 1387. Yet the Burgundian court which at first was simply a copy of the French model, apparently developed this 'part-time' service to an exceptional degree and, in so doing, outstripped the French court. This latter did

[31] Above, n. 25.

not make up the ground it had lost until the end of the fifteenth century. This system was advantageous not only because it involved more people but also because it established an additional connection between court and country. Court nobles generally had administrative responsibilities in the provinces and regions, and this system made it possible for them to fulfil them.[32]

It goes without saying that the members of the prince's family and the highest nobility were not subject to this system and were not yet regarded as being in service at the court. Therefore there was not only a differentiation with the *chambre*, but special treatment for particularly high-ranking persons immediately below the princes and their children. Charles the Bold created the office of *pensionnaire* or *chambellan pensionnaire* for such people, who in fact received what was in some cases a considerable pension, though this was only paid, pro rata, for attendance at court.[33] Hence even the upper nobility was harnessed to a framework of relations which in turn began to exert pressure upon them, particularly under Charles the Bold, who dreamed only of 'ordre et règle' and demanded that account be given of any unexcused absences from his service.[34]

[32] C. A. J. Armstrong, 'Had the Burgundian Government a Policy for the Nobility?', in idem, *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983 [first pub. in 1964]), 213–36, pp. 224 f. Cf. the valuable contribution by the same in A. G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe. Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400–1800* (London, 1977), pp. 55–75, 329, entitled 'The Golden Age of Burgundy. Dukes that outdid Kings', p. 63.

[33] As far as I know, the concept occurs for the first time in the ordinance of 1474 (above, n. 25), fo. 4, although the reality had been visible ever since the special treatment of the count of Fribourg and the greater Brabantian nobles in the ordinance of 1433 (Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen', 4, no. 9, §§ 14–23). De la Marche, *L'Estat* (above, n. 7), pp. 11 f., notes that the *grans pencionnaires* were paid not by *escroes* and the accountancy of the household, but by the *argentier*, the general accountant of ducal expenditure. Cf. P. S. Lewis, 'Les Pensionnaires de Louis XI', in B. Chevalier and Ph. Contamine (edd.), *La France de la fin du XV^e siècle. Renouveau et apogée* (Paris, 1985), pp. 167–81; these 750–900 men were not integrated into the household as were the 44 Burgundians of 1474. But the ducal accounts show that there were many other pensioners too. See B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, 'Les Pensionnaires fieffés des ducs de Bourgogne de 1352 à 1419', *Mémoires de la Soc. pour l'hist. du droit et des instit. des anciens pays burguignons, comtois et romands*, 8 (1942), pp. 127–50, which should be continued for 1419–77, at least.

[34] Ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 5), fos. 26v, 30, 30v. On 'ordre et règle' cf. Paravicini, *Karl der Kühne* (above, n. 17), pp. 49 f.

The most spectacular example of the creation of new roles is that of the public audience, which Charles the Bold introduced in 1468, and which caused a considerable stir among his contemporaries. 'The lords of the prince's family, the pensionaries and gentlemen of the chamber, and the nobility of the four offices, together with the nobles of the guard who were on duty on that day'—a list which includes all the court nobility—were expected to attend at this ritual on pain of loss of two days' wages.[35] 'Not one individual would have dared to stay away,' remarked Olivier de la Marche, who goes on to describe the exact place that was allotted to each office-holder and group at this ceremony. 'And the duke then decides upon the petitions requesting his judgements, which are handed to him by kneeling secretaries, according to the circumstances of each case, and does not leave until every one of them has been settled. Throughout, everyone remains silent and keeps good order.'[36] Georges Chastellain, the official court historian (whose work was not, however, published in his lifetime) writes: 'it [the Audience] therefore went on for two or three hours, depending upon the number of petitions received and was often very tiresome for those present, though one had to endure it patiently.'[37] Charles initially held such audiences three times a week, but this was reduced to twice and then, in 1474, once a week, on Fridays.[38] It was probably abandoned altogether towards the end of his reign, perhaps as a result of clandestine resistance from the nobility, but also because of the vast number of other tasks the duke had to perform.[39]

[35] Ordinance of 1469, fo. 70v.

[36] De la Marche, *L'Estat* (above, n. 7), pp. 4–7.

[37] Chastellain, *Œuvres* (above, n. 24), v (1864), pp. 370 f.

[38] For 3 times see ordinance of 1469, fos. 27v–28v, with the special ordinances of the same year (above, n. 5); Chastellain *Œuvres* (n. 37); P. Wielant, *Recueil des antiquités de Flandre*, in J. H. de Smet (ed.), *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*, iv (Brussels, 1865), 1–441, p. 135. For 2 times see de la Marche, *L'Estat*, pp. 4–7. For once see ordinance of 1474 (above, n. 25) and the ordinance on the guard (undated, but visibly of the same date), L. van Lerberghe and J. Ronsse (edd.), *Audenaerdsche Mengelingen*, ii (Oudenaarde, 1846), p. 89.

[39] The dimunition and consequent disappearance of the audience were not mentioned by Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters*, ch. 2, Cartellieri, *Am Hofe*, p. 69, and R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (London, 1973), pp. 182 f., who were, however, fully aware of the importance of this institution. On the introduction of the audience in Milan see below, p. 86 and n. 65. For the general background of political ideas see A. J. Vanderjagt, 'Qui sa vertu anoblist. The Concepts of noblesse and chose

It should be stressed that the dukes made great efforts to integrate the nobility. They were the principal benefactors of the expansion of the court. The Order of the Golden Fleece, created in 1430, was open only to nobles of ancient family.[40] It would be worth investigating whether a similar effort was made towards other élite groups, such as the clergy and patriciate. It appears that nothing qualitatively or quantitatively comparable existed. The nobility's monopoly of power does not seem to have been undermined.

This picture of almost unchallenged noble predominance appears rather different when we consider the recipients of gratuities which interested parties gave in order to advance their affairs at court, or to purchase protection for themselves for the future. In 1468, the town of Lille paid £420 to Antoine, Grand Bastard of Burgundy; £100 to Chancellor Pierre de Goux, adding a shawl costing £150 for his wife; the First Secretary, Jean Grosgot £84 and Jean le Tourneur, Charles the Bold's *sommelier du corps*, £42—the last four people mentioned were all non-nobles.[41] But other powers and institutions had different needs, and this was reflected in their pensions and contacts. The duke of Milan's ambassador, for instance, used code names for the most important and frequently mentioned individuals in his correspondence with the duke. The list contains only two commoners, one of whom is the chancellor, as against twelve princes and nobles of renown.[42] Before we can fully establish who was important for whom, it will be necessary to look more carefully at the court

publicque in Burgundian Political Thought' (Ph.D. thesis; Groningen, 1981), pp. 53 ff., 59.

[40] Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', pp. 135 with n. 41, 153 with n. 121. Cf. D'A. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1620* (Woodbridge, 1987), 356–96. A comprehensive history of the Burgundian epoch of the order is the subject of the projected Ph.D. thesis of W. Ossoba (university of Kiel).

[41] A. Derville, 'Les Pots-de-vin dans le dernier tiers du XV^e siècle (d'après les comptes de Lille et de Saint-Omer), *Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États*, 80 (1985), 459–71, pp. 464 f.

[42] F. Tranchedino, *Diplomatische Geheimschriften. Codex Vindobonensis 2398 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Faksimileausgabe*, ed. W. Hoflechner (Codices selecti, 22; Graz, 1970), fo. 71v; cf. W. Paravicini, 'Sechs Neuerscheinungen zur burgundischfranzösischen Geschichte im 15. Jahrhundert', *Francia*, 2 (1974), 665–91, p. 681 *(el duca Julio* = Julio Antonio Acquaviva, duke of Atri).

clergy, both in the chapel and the almonry, *maîtres des requêtes*, and secretaries.[43]

The state of research into the geographical origins of the people who made up the Burgundian court is also still very sketchy. We have reasonable information only for Philip the Good's court and nobility.[44] In 1426–7, the nobility of the duchy and county of Burgundy and the surrounding territories possessed more than half the noble offices. In 1458, they still held 40 per cent, even though the Burgundian state had, in the meanwhile, rapidly expanded. Next in order came the nobles of Picardy with around a quarter of the offices throughout Burgundian territory. No regional group, with the exception of Brabantine nobles, managed to break the hold these nobles had on both offices and prestige, and they only succeeded because the number of offices was increased. Philip the Good reserved a quarter of noble offices for them in return for their consent to his succession in their duchy.[45] What little remained was shared between the other Burgundian provinces and a small number of foreigners.

To arrive at a sense of what life was actually like at court, we have, however, to do more than simply calculate the level of noble participation, even if this is specified by region. We must get inside that world and, among other things, investigate its patterns of vertical solidarity; for example, which *maître des requêtes*, secretary, or gentleman usher was a client of a particular gentleman of the chamber, or master of the household.[46] If this relationship is recognized, then our picture of the court suddenly changes and we are no longer dealing with an undifferentiated group of courtiers on the one hand and the duke on the other, but with more or less

[43] On secretaries see P. Cockshaw, *Le Personnel de la chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre sous les ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1384–1477)* (Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États, 79; Kortrijk-Heule, 1982). This book is only a part of the author's Ph.D. thesis (Brussels, 1975), the prosopographical catalogue remaining unpublished.

[44] Paravicini, 'Expansion et intégration' (above, n. 2). Caron, *La Noblesse* (above, n. 10), does not really consider this problem; the little she says, p. 165 and p. 187, n. 529, is based on a single household wage list of 30 May 1430.

[45] As early as 1431/32, immediately after his accession to the duchy in 1430; see Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen', 4, no. 7.

[46] Bartier, *Légistes et gens des finances* (above, n. 10), pp. 106–13, gives many examples of this phenomenon, and cf. Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu* (above, n. 12), p. 432 and n. 148.

organized groups. Hardly any research has been done on this, although the rivalry between the de Croy clan and that of chancellor Nicolas Rolin is well known from the many pages devoted to it by Georges Chastellain. It was this rivalry that lay behind the quarrel between Duke Philip and his son Charles over who should fill a certain post of gentleman of the privy chamber.[47] The problem is that here the court is observed not when functioning normally, but under extraordinary and divisive circumstances. Thanks to the research of Alain Derville,[48] we are now at least beginning to identify some of the relationships of protection which existed between many towns or cities and certain prominent noble courtiers: between Saint-Omer and Croy, and later, Antoine, Grand Bastard of Burgundy; between Lille and Baudouin d'Oingnies, and later the Lannoys; between Arras and the lord of Contay.[49] We should continue and extend the analysis of town and city accounts and council minutes to discover more such relationships.

The discipline that was imposed on the audience became a part of all public functions.[50] Further refinements and degrees

[47] Chastellain, *Œuvres*, iii. 232 (1457). On the Croy family see W. Paravicini, 'Moers, Croy, Burgund, Eine Studie über den Niedergang des Hauses Moers in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 179 (1978), 7–113, pp. 21 ff. R. Boron's richly illustrated book *Les Croy . . . 1390–1612* (Brussels, 1981), has no academic pretensions. H. Kruse (Kiel university) is working on a Ph.D. thesis on the men around the young Charles the Bold whose support enabled him to seize power in 1465. There are several books on Nicolas Rolin, the latest being R. Berger, *Nicolas Rolin, Kanzler der Zeitwende im Burgundisch-Französischen Konflikt 1422–1461* (Fribourg, 1971), but none of them is completely satisfactory. M. Kamp of Münster is writing a thesis supervised by J. Wollasch on Nicolas Rolin's religious foundations. But there is no monograph on the Rolins as a group.

[48] A. Derville, 'Pots-de-vin, cadeaux, racket, patronage. Essai sur les mécanismes de décision dans l'état burguignon', *Revue du nord*, 56 (1974), pp. 341–64; idem, 'Les Pots-de-vin' (above, n. 41). Cf. M.-A. Arnould, 'L'Origine historique des pots-de-vin', *Bulletin de l'Academie royal. de Belgique. Classe des lettres*, 5/62 (1976), pp. 216–67.

[49] For Arras and Contay see the letters printed by A. Guesnon, *Inventaire chronologique des chartes de la ville d'Arras. Documents* (unpub. proofs, *c.*1862, in the municipal archives of Arras).

[50] Thus, the *feste aux folz* was forbidden by the ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 5, fol. 15). The rape of women, already the ruin of the count of Tonnerre (see Armstrong, 'Burgundian Government', p. 218; M.-Th. Caron, 'Vie et mort d'une grande dame: Jeanne de Chalon, Comtesse de Tonnerre (vers 1388–vers 1450)', *Francia*, 8 (1980), 147–90, pp. 151 f. [1406]) was severely penalized. Cf. W. Prevenier, 'Vrouwenroof als middel tot sociale mobiliteit in het 15e-eeuwse Zeeland', in D. E. H. de Boer and J. W. Marsilje (edd.), *De Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen* (Utrecht, 1987), pp. 410–24.

of hierarchization were introduced: not only were various colours and materials laid down for the robes of the various ranks of nobility and courtly office on ceremonial occasions, but individuals were also assigned to different ante-chambers arranged one after another. Direct access to the prince, whose public and private persona were now becoming more clearly differentiated than before, came to be reserved for the highest ranks.[51] The simple nobleman now saw himself treated as a lowly servant:

> After their midday meal, the gentlemen of the privy chamber and nobles already mentioned above will come each day to the duke in the hall or chamber, where he will eat; they are each headed and accompanied by the chief of their particular briefs, and there they will comport themselves respectfully, without making any sound or disorderly noise. If any noise is made, the duke requests and orders that at the first cry and first word of the gentlemen ushers silence shall immediately be restored.[52]

Advantages were offered in exchange for this discipline, which Charles the Bold elevated into a principle of state. They included material wealth, marriage, and other opportunities, such as wages, pensions, and gifts.[53] Even the protection payments and bribes which are a natural consequence of any exercise of power, should be classed as material advantages.[54] The dukes, besieged as they were by the 'importunité de requerrants' and endless petitions at all times of the day,[55] sought to make the distribution and the unregulated accumulation of these rewards dependent upon the rank of the recipient.[56] The *familiaritas* of the prince, which he bestowed

[51] Ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 5), fos. 29, 44v–45; Chastellain, *Œuvres*, v (1864), p. 371. For the livery see e.g. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 141–4 (Trier, 1473). De la Marche, *L'Estat*, pp. 32 and 47, differentiates between the prince's *manger publiquement* and *manger en sa chambre privé*. [52] Ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 5), fo. 27v.

[53] On the court as a marriage market see Armstrong, 'Burgundian Government' (above, n. 32), pp. 234 f.; idem, 'The Golden Age', p. 61. [54] Above, n. 48.

[55] Cf. W. Paravicini, 'Administrateurs professionnels et princes dilettantes', in idem and K. F. Werner (edd.), *Histoire comparée de l'administration* (Beihefte der Francia, 9; Munich, 1980), pp. 168–81.

[56] The history of the ducal gift policy is yet to be written. Cf. the ordinances of 1426/27 (Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen', 2, n. 5, §§ 404–14) and 1433 (ibid. 4, no. 9 §§ 44–59) which limit the gifts to court officials to a certain amount once a year: 'nul es menuz officiers de son hostel no soit sy osé de faire requeste a mondit seigneur de quelque choses que ce ne soit present les maistres d'ostel' (no. 9, §§ 451). In the

either as a simple title or through fictive court office,[57] brought prestige and honour. Belonging to the Order of the Golden Fleece gave its members special prestige. Foreign observers always distinguished between simple nobles and the Knights of the Fleece.[58] A favourable marriage, or relations of various other kinds, could also be expected from the prince's favour. For the pages, children of the nobility who grew up at court and thus were integrated into that world in the most natural of ways, there was an education of the highest order, in accordance with their rank, and the prospect of advancement to higher offices laid down for them in the household ordinances.[59]

1.5. Government and administration

The court was and remained the centre of political decision-making. The duke had progressively relinquished those functions which demanded continuous work and specialist expertise, such as the control of finances, and later the everyday administration of justice.[60] He did, however, remain the source of all law, and particularly of that royal favour whose force could not be countermanded or even limited by any written decree or even by personal obligation.[61] Charles the Bold was a modern ruler to the extent that he himself, to everyone's general amazement, counted his income and expenditure,[62] and began, as already reported, to pronounce

ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 5), fo. 30v, there is to be a gift of one month's wages at the end of a *terme*, but only if fully served, otherwise pro rata. On Charles the Bold's relative parsimony see Chastellain (above, n. 24), v. 369.

[57] Examples in Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen', 1, p. 135 n. 29.

[58] Cf. Rozmital and Tafur, above, nn. 16 and 27.

[59] General ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 5), fos. 5v, 33v. De la Marche, *L'Estat* (above, n. 7), pp. 25 f., 63 f. Cf. Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu*, pp. 86–8, and M. Sommé, 'Le Jeunesse de Charles le Téméraire d'après les comptes de la cour de Bourgogne', *Revue du nord*, 64 (1982), pp. 731–50, for children *gentilshommes* of young Charles the Bold.

[60] Paravicini, 'Administrateurs' (above, n. 55), and J. van Rompaey, De Grote Raad van de hertogen vn Boergondie en het parlement van Mechelen (Brussels, 1973).

[61] Paravicini, 'Administrateurs'. The executory mandates of the household ordinances regularly contain this kind of self-imposed obligation by the prince and the order to disobey him in case of orders given contrary to the present ordinance.

[62] Paravicini, *Karl der Kühne*, pp. 38 f.: 'Charles le Travaillant'. M.-A. Arnould, 'Le Séjour bruxellois de Charles le Téméraire pendant l'hiver de 1467–1468', *Annales de la Societé royal d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, 58 (1981) [Mélanges Mina Martens], pp. 27–50.

justice himself in his audiences. The *chambres de compte*, the supreme court of justice, and later the parliament of Malines, may have left the court, but it was laid down in the household ordinances from 1433 onwards that the aulic council (*conseil ordinaire*) was to remain the centre of political decision-making. Of its thirteen members, only three were not nobles, and one of these was its president, the future bishop of Tournai.[63] Similarly, the ducal secretaries and *maîtres des requêtes*,[64] who were men of the law, also belonged to the household and were included in its ordinances. The basic tendency was certainly towards the dissociation of administrative institutions from the court, but substitute institutions evolved nearer to the ruler. The nucleus of power, political rule, thus remained in the hands of the court.

2

What is it that is specifically Burgundian in all this? It is well known that almost everything I have said is to be seen at other courts in the same period or even earlier. An 'audience' like Charles the Bold's had been introduced by Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Milan, upon his accession to the throne, that is, two years before Charles. In Milan it was even held on a daily basis and fared just as badly there as later in Burgundy.[65] Expensive and extravagantly decorative banquets and tournaments, which surprised guests with various *entremets*, were also held at the courts of Anjou and of the dukes of Savoy, to mention but two.[66] Perhaps we may conclude that the Burgundian court was merely an important vehicle of tradition, that it linked the brilliant age of Charles VI of

[63] Jean Chevrot. Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen' (above, n. 2), 4, §§ 465–83. Cf. Rompaey, *De Grote Raad*, pp. 16 f.

[64] Cf. Bartier, *Légistes*, and Cockshaw, *Le personnel*.

[65] G. Lubkin, 'Strutture, funzioni e funzionamenti della corte milanese nel quattrocentro', in *Publications du centre européen d'études bourguignonnes*, 28 (1988), pp. 75–83.

[66] R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970), p. 143 (Savoy), pp. 347 f. (Foix). F. Piponnier, *Costume et vie sociale. La Cour d'Anjou, XIV^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris and the Hague, 1970); F. Robin, *La Cour d'Anjou-Provence. La vie artistique sous le règne de René* (Paris, 1985).

France and Richard II of England with the Renaissance under Charles VIII and Henry VII, during a time when monarchy underwent a crisis in both lands, without ever being truly original or creative. The fact that Louis XI, a particularly powerful king, cared little for court ceremony and pomp[67] certainly made Charles the Bold's splendid courtly household seem particularly Burgundian. We cannot, however, speak of an essentially Burgundian character, but only of degrees of difference from what was the general rule—with certain special features, which I shall attempt to specify here.

2.1. Preponderance of knights and nobility

It is a very striking fact, and one therefore requiring elucidation, that in the Burgundian household ordinancs many positions were not only reserved *de facto* (though not expressly *de jure*) for noblemen, but were kept specifically for knights. A man who had been made a knight could serve only as a gentleman of the chamber (and had, consequently, to wait until a post was free).[68] It was also the case that there were very few such gentlemen who were not knights. Likewise, the Order of the Golden Fleece was reserved for knights, though this was by no means necessarily the case with royal orders of this kind.[69] Neither at the court of Anjou nor at the Milanese court were there similarly reserved rights for knights.[70] It is therefore quite correct to draw a close connection between Burgundy and knights, though we do not know why this was so.

2.2. Part-time service

We have already discussed this peculiar form of 'job-sharing'. Here we need simply to re-emphasize that it does not appear to have existed anywhere else in the same form or with the same frequency—at least not in the fifteenth century.

[67] The contrast is very obvious in the differing descriptions of the Milanese envoys. See Soldi Rondinini, 'Aspects' (above, n. 12), pp. 202, 204, 207, 210, 212 f.

[68] Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', pp. 138 f., 164–7.

[69] See above, n. 40.

[70] See above, n. 65 (Milan); Piponnier, *Costume et vie sociale* (above, n. 66) (Anjou).

2.3. Accountability and control

Other courts also produced household ordinances, most notably the French royal court.[71] But I know of no other court in the fifteenth century which produced such systematic and comprehensive texts as did the Burgundian court. Those of Charles the Bold seem to be unique for their period; and his army ordinances[72] are also distinguished by a fullness of detail and a desire to anticipate and regulate everything. Even a system like the Burgundian daily account records for wages and payments in kind with a strip of parchment for each day is something I have not found elsewhere.[73]

2.4. Sacralization, distance, discipline

Only future research will be able to determine whether there was anything special about the practice of expressing reverence to the duke before he would condescend to acknowledge the presence of a visitor—even if that visitor were his own son[74]—or about Charles the Bold's habit of attending religious services in his own oratory, separated from the rest of the congregation by black silk curtains.[75] Certainly the level of civilization was higher at the Burgundian court than, for example, in the German Empire. Charles's commissaries, in whose honour Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol gave a banquet, were amazed to find that the great lord dirtied the table with

[71] Until the records up to 1350 have been published by R.-H. Bautier and E. Lalu in Paris, there is no scholarly edition or even repertory of the French ordinances.

[72] Cf. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 205–11.

[73] The 'Küchen-, Reise- und Lagerbücher' of the house of Wettin (Saxony), preserved in fragments of 1389 and 1422–3, and in a series 1442–86 (and further on), permit the reconstruction of complete itineraries, as do the accounts of the Burgundian *Maître de la Chambre aux deniers* and the *escroes* (on these see Paravicini, 'Ordonnances de l'Hôtels, above, n. 2); but they are not as systematic and they do not give details of daily wages, i.e. the daily list of court officials. B. Knoke, 'Wettinische Residenzen im Spätmittelalter', *Jahrbuch der Coburger Landesstiftung* (1986), pp. 371–80 (summary of her Ph.D. at the university of Göttingen, to be completed soon), and information kindly given by letter.

[74] *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital* (Schaseck), pp. 35 f.

[75] Soldi Rondinini, 'Aspects' (above, n. 12), p. 212 (siege of Neuß, 1475). There are parallels, see F. Robin, 'Les Chapelles seigneuriales et royales françaises au temps de Louis XI', *La France de la fin du XV^e siècle. Renouveau et apogée*, ed. B. Chevalier and Ph. Contamine (Paris, 1985), 237–52, pp. 247 ff. and fig. 25 (already Philip the Good in a black 'chapel').

baked ground ivy, and they noted: 'Item. As soon as the dish was set on the table, everyone reached for it with his hand, and the humblest were sometimes the first.'[76] Such testimonies of cultural disparities will have to be carefully collected. I am not convinced that the same thing would actually be found in France and Italy at this time. The obligation to kneel before the prince, the transformation of the formal meal into a ritual,[77] the suite of rooms one had to pass through before reaching the ruler,[78] the separation of the court into different chambers according to rank, and the strong tendency towards the levelling of all members of the court, in spite of the hierarchy, so that they all stood in a subservient relation to the prince: all these things can be observed at the Burgundian court. But probably not only there. And yet the court of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold aroused that enthusiastic amazement to which the comments of contemporaries mentioned above testify. Why was this?

2.5. The size and splendour of the court

The specific source of amazement was, first and foremost, the tremendous luxury that was to be seen at the Burgundian court. There were more people, more courses at the banquets, more festivals, more regulations—a quantitative difference which ultimately produced a qualitative one. It must first be established whether the dukes of Burgundy really spent more money proportionately on their household then did other courts. Perhaps they established new standards of luxury, but, because of the sheer size of their wealth, they did not have to spend proportionately more than others. Charles the Bold's wedding in 1468 was such a lavish affair that an explanatory programme booklet was distributed; an official account was disseminated and copies were requested from as far away as

[76] This episode is mentioned by Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters*, ch. 2, p. 53 and p. 483, n. 21. Cf. W. Maleczek, 'Die Sachkultur am Hofe Herzog Sigismunds von Tirol (†1496)', in *Adelige Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterl. Realienkunde Österreichs, 5; Vienna, 1982), 133–67, p. 142. The source is published by E. Droz, 'Relation du souper offert par le duc Sigismond d'Autriche aux commissaires bourguignons (Thann, 1469)', *Mélanges Antoine Thomas* (Paris, 1927), pp. 45–8.

[77] Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters*, pp. 53 f., following de la Marche's *L'Estat*.

[78] *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital* (Schaseck), p. 34 (3 rooms), p. 36 (9 rooms).

Lübeck.[79] We have to take account not only of a new quantitative level then, but also of a new awareness of how effective investments of this kind could be for increasing one's prestige over a wide area.

3

Although this leaves us somewhat uncertain as to exactly what constituted the unique character of the Burgundian court, we must now investigate its influence. Ten years ago, Michel Mollat cautiously summed up the generally accepted view as following:

> It is said that the etiquette of modern royal courts developed in the milieu of the dukes of Burgundy. Inherited by Charles V and transmitted by Philip II to the Escorial, it returned from there to France and the Versailles of Louis XIV.[80]

Alongside Versailles, Vienna, Europe's other leading court,[81] is also mentioned. It is said that all other courts, both great and small, followed this model. In addition to this, as it were, posthumous influence, there was also a contemporary one. I should now like to investigate both of these influences within the restricted space available. The question how such influence was actually mediated—through visits and direct contact, letters and personal relations, handwritten accounts, copies of household ordinances, and conscious propaganda—can only be briefly raised here.

3.1. Germany

The dukes of Burgundy had close family ties with two German dynasties, those of Wittelsbach and Cleves.[82] There are no

[79] Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 49. De la Marche, one of the organizers of this memorable feast, composed a 'Traictié des nopces de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoigne et de Brabant', which seems to have been sent to the court of Savoy, see the edition of his *Mémoires* (above, n. 7), i (1883), pp. cxx–xcci, and the text, ed. A. Dufour and F. Rabut, 'Description inédite des fêtes célébrées à Bruges en 1468 à l'occasion du mariage du duc Charles-le-Téméraire avec Marguerite d'York', *Mémoirs de la Commission des antiquités de la Côte-d'Or*, 9 (1877), pp. 311–53.

[80] Mollat, *Genèse médiévale*, p. 173. Cf. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters*, p. 51, and Guenée, *L'Occident*, pp. 148–50.

[81] Pfandl, 'Einführung des burgundischen Hofzeremoniells' (above, n. 1), p. 3.

[82] Cf. Y. Lacaze, 'Philippe le Bon et l'Empire: bilan d'un règne', *Francia*, 9 (1981), pp. 133–75; 10 (1982), pp. 167–227, with bibliography.

German household ordinances in the Burgundian style from the fifteenth-century,[83] but there are none the less signs of imitation. Duke Ludwig der Bärtige (the Bearded) of Bayern-Ingolstadt adopted the Franco-Burgundian custom of manual sign and badge.[84] However, the relations of the Wittelsbach family with France (Ludwig's sister had married Charles VI) and the Netherlands (the Straubing branch of the family were the rulers of Holland and Hainault until 1433) were at the same time so close that we must not necessarily assume direct Burgundian influence. The Palatine branch of the family (Frederick I) was from time to time very close to Charles the Bold and the Palatine nobleman Friedrich von Flörsheim entered his service.[85]

Duke Philip the Good and Duke John I of Cleves were on extraordinarily good terms with one another, as their correspondence reveals.[86] A cadet branch of the family lived at the Burgundian court, before settling in the Netherlands and becoming completely French.[87] Against this background, the foundation in Cleves of its own Antonius Order of Knights some time before 1441 looks like an imitation of the Order of

[83] A repertory of German household ordinances from the 13th cent. to 1618, compiled by K.-H. Ahrens and M. Reinbold, is one of the projects of the 'Residenzen-Kommission' of the Academy of Sciences at Göttingen; cf. K.-H. Ahrens, 'Die Entstehung der landesherrlichen Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich', *Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (1984), pp. 29–36. The edition of some texts of the 16th and 17th cents. by A. Kern is mentioned below, n. 125. On German courts of the late Middle Ages and early modern times see, with good general background, K. Plodeck, *Hofstruktur und Hofzeremoniell in Brandenburg-Ansbach vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ansbach, 1972 and *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken,* 86 [1971–2], 1–260), pp. 34 ff., and see Moraw (ch. 4), Press (ch. 11), and Stievermann (ch. 6), in this vol.

[84] T. Straub, *Herzog Ludwig der Bärtige von Bayern-Ingolstadt und seine Beziehungen zu Frankreich in der Zeit von 1391 bis 1415* (Kallmünz, 1965); idem, 'Der Wappenstein Ludwigs des Bärtigen in Aichach', in *Die Wittelsbacher im Aichacher Land* (Aichach, 1980), pp. 242–50: radiating sun and raven of St Oswald. Manual sign: Generaldirektion der staatlichen Archive Bayerns (ed.), *Die Fürstenkanzlei im Mittelalter. Anfänge weltlicher und geistlicher Zentralverwaltung in Bayern. Ausstellung* (Munich, 1983), pp. 81–5, n. 85–9.

[85] Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu*, pp. 335 f. n. 372.

[86] A. Grunzweig, 'Quatre Lettres autographes de Philippe le Bon', *Revue belge de philogoie et d'histoire*, 4 (1925), pp. 431–7.

[87] H.-P. Hilger, 'Kleve und Burgund', in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte. Die Herzogtümer Jülich, Kleve, Berg* (exhibition, Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek Kleve and Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf; Kleve, 1984), pp. 209–33. A. Glezerman and M. Harsgor, *Cleve, ein unerfülltes Schicksal. Aufstieg, Rückzug und Verfall eines Territorialstaates* (Berlin and Munich, 1985), with bibliography.

the Golden Fleece. This seems even more likely to be the case with the Ansbach-Brandenburgian Order of the Swan, established in 1440, and the Order of St Hubert in Jülich, dating from 1444.[88]

Burgundy's prestige in the south of the Empire was revealed when Duke Philip journeyed to the imperial diet at Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1454.[89] His journey consisted of a series of presentations, receptions, and banquets, which secured his ties to the houses of Habsburg, Wittelsbach, and Württemberg[90] even more firmly. Young noblemen who came to the Burgundian court to finish their education included Adrian von Bubenberg and Ludwig von Diesbach from Berne,[91] Wiwolt von Schaumburg from Franconia, whose memoirs included a description of the organization of the

[88] L. Peters, 'Der jülichsche Hubertus- und klevische Antonius-Ritterorden', in *Land im Mittelpunkt der Mächte* (above, n. 87), pp. 125–32. Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (above, n. 40), p. 397 nn. 2, 3, who considers (p. 398 n. 5), also the Saxonian Order of St Jerome (1450), as possibly inspired by Burgundy. More on all these in H. Kruse, A. Ranft, and W. Paravicini (edd.), *Ritterorden und Adelsgesellschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland. Ein kritisches Verzeichnis* (forthcoming). It is worth mentioning, that as early as 1416 Franco-Burgundian craftsmen were working at the ducal residence of Liegnitz in Silesia see A. Karlowska-Kamzowa, 'Zu den Residenzen Ludwigs I., Ruprechts und Ludwigs II. von Liegnitz und Brieg', in Patze and Paravicini (edd.), *Residenzen*.

[89] *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Ältere Reihe*, xix 1, ed. H. Weigel and H. Grüneisen (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 141–93, 211–20, 339–415. R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1973), pp. 299–302. B. Schwineköper, 'Das "Große Fest" zu Freiburg (3.–8. Juli 1454)', in E. Hassinger (ed.), *Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Clemens Bauer zum 75. Geburtstsag* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 73–91.

[90] Cf. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 287. A letter written by Philip the Good to Countess Margrete, 16 July 1462, is reproduced in *Württemberg im Spätmittelalter* (exhibition catalogue; Stuttgart, 1984), p. 47 n. 37. Letters patent of Charles the Bold, 14 Jan. 1472 (n.st.), taking Count Eberhard into his service, are also to be found in the Haupststaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 602 WR no. 428; cf. ibid., n. 426 a passport, dated 17 Dec. 1473 (material of vol. 23 of the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Ältere Reihe*, compiled by the late Henny Grüneisen and preserved in the Historisches Seminar of the university of Cologne). The break came in 1474; for the possession of Mömpelgard/Montbéliard, see Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 287 f., and Paravicini, *Guy de Brimeu* (above, n. 12), p. 378 n. 536.

[91] A. Ziegler, 'Adrian von Bubenberg' (Ph.D. thesis; Zürich, 1887), *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, 12 (1889), 1–130, pp. 9–11 (very sceptical about Bubenberg's stay at the Burgundian court). Cf. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 265 and 360 n. 2; F. de Capitani, *Adel, Bürger und Zünfte im Bern des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 1982), pp. 36–9. U. M. Zahnd, *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Ludwigs von Diesbachs* (Bern, 1986), pp. 37–43, 153–6; Diesbach then went over to Louis XI.

Burgundian royal household at the time of Charles the Bold,[92] and even Otto von Dolen from distant Livonia.[93] All this makes it probable that there was a Burgundian influence on the courts of Germany, though we do not yet possess any real proof. It is interesting to note that the first great German princely wedding, at Bayern-Landshut in 1475, followed only a few years upon Charles the Bold's wedding ceremony in Bruges in 1468; and that Charles's meeting with Emperor Frederick III in Trier in 1473 had set a new standard of public display.[94]

3.2. Italy

In speaking of the Burgundian court and Italy, it must first be regretted that Richard Walsh's thesis on 'Charles the Bold and Italy' has remained unpublished. Were it to be published, more would be known of this subject.[95] At one time, Italians

[92] A. v. Keller (ed.), *Die Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg* (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins zu Stuttgart, 50; Tübingen, 1859), pp. 17 f. (trans. in Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 191).

[93] W. Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, i (Beihefte der *Francia*, 17/1; Sigmaringen, 1988), ch. 2 n. 150.

[94] S. Hiereth, 'Die Landshuter Hochzeit als Organisationsproblem', in *Landshut 1475–1975* (Österreichische Osthefte, 18; Vienna, 1976), pp. 229–35. F. Machilek, 'Nürnberg und die Landshuter Fürstenhochzeit, des Jahres 1475', in U. Bestmann *et al.* (edd.), *Hochfinanz, Wirtschaftsraume, Innovationen. Festschrift für Wolfgang von Stromer* (Trier, 1987), ii. 641–77. On Bruges 1468 and Trier 1473 cf. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 48–53, 138–55. The idea of establishing a relationship between these events and Landshut in 1475 was suggested to me by H. Koller (Salzburg university).

[95] R. Walsh, 'Charles the Bold, last Valois Duke of Burgundy 1467–1477, and Italy' (Ph.D. thesis; Hull, 1977). Cf. R. Walsh, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries. Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold', *Humanistica Lovaniensia, Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 25 (1976), pp. 46–97; idem, 'Charles the Bold and the Crusade: Politics and Propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), pp. 53–86; idem, 'Music and Quattrocento Diplomacy: The Singer Jean Cordier between Milan, Naples and Burgundy in 1475', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 60 (1978), pp. 439–442; idem, 'Vespasiano da Bisticci, Francesco Bertini and Charles the Bold: An Examination of an Episode in the *Vite* as an illustration of Charles the Bold's Relations with Italy', *European Studies Review*, 10 (1980), pp. 401–27; idem, 'Une citation inexacte de Lucain par Charles le Téméraire et Louis XI', *Le Moyen Age*, 86 (1980), pp. 439–51; idem, 'Relations between Milan and Burgundy in the Period 1450–1476', in *Gli Sforza a Milano e in Lombardia e i loro raporti con gli stati italiani ed europei (1450–1536)* (Milan, 1982), pp. 369–96. Cf. T. Zambarbieri, 'Milan e la Borgogna tra il 1474 e il 1477: le loro relazioni diplomatiche nel contesto dell'Europa mediana', *Libri et documenti*, 8/1 (1982), pp. 33–69, and 8/2 (1982), pp. 1–36 (with, p. 12 n. 139, a substantial correction to Walsh's paper in *Le Moyen Age*), and E. Sestan (ed.), *Carteggi diplomatici fra Milano sforzesca e la Borgogna*, i. *1453–1475* (Rome, 1985), ii (Rome, 1987).

were present at the Burgundian court in considerable numbers, forming an important element at court, particularly during Charles's reign. There were Italian secretaries, doctors, and *condottieri*. Colleoni was almost certainly among them. In addition, Italian princes, including an Este, a Gonzaga, and Ferrante of Aragon-Naples, spent quite some time at the court. The accounts of court life Rudolfo Gonzaga sent to his mother in Mantua are still extant.[96] And lastly, there were the ambassadors from Milan, Venice, and Naples. On the other hand, there were also merchants from Italy or of Italian extraction in Bruges, such as Dino Rapondi,[97] Giovanni Arnolfini, Angelo Tani, Tommaso Portinari, and Anselm Adornes, a scion of the Adorno family of Genoa,[98] who were close to, or even belonged to, the court. Pictures, manuscripts, and tapestries all came from the Netherlands to Florence, Naples, Milan, and Urbino, as indeed did painters and musicians. The courts of Ferrara and Mantua seem to have been particularly strongly influenced by Burgundy: the Schifanoia palace in Ferrara was decorated with frescos in 1458–60, depicting ladies in Burgundian costume. In Milan, too, at certain periods, Charles's splendour was greatly admired.[99] There existed, then, something of a fashion for things Burgundian, though perhaps it was no more than that.

3.3. England

So far as the English court is concerned, we are on firmer ground in asserting a contemporary Burgundian influence than is the case either for Germany or Italy. Charles the Bold

[96] Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 59 n. 1, 65 n. 1, 75 n. 1, 192 n. 1, 213 n. 1, 238 n. 2, and see pp. 164–6 on the general Italianate element at the Burgundian court. Walsh, 'The Coming of Humanism', pp. 158 f.

[97] Nieuwenhuysen, *Les Finances* (above, n. 20), pp. 342–4.

[98] N. Geirnaert and A. Vandewalle (edd.), *Adornes en Jeruzalem. Internationaal leven in het 15de- en 16de-eeuwse Brugge*, (exhibition catalogue; Bruges, 1983); N. Geirnaert, *Het archief van de familie Adornes ende Jeruzalemstichting te Brugge*, 2 vol. (Bruges, 1987–89).

[99] See in addition to Walsh, 'The Coming of Humanism', S. Bertelli, F. Cardini, and E. Garbero Zorzi (edd.), *Italian Renaissance Courts* (London, 1986), pp. 37, 55, 65, 66, 67; G. Cerboni Baiardi, G. Chittolini, and P. Floriani (edd.), *Federico di Montefeltro* (3 vols.; Rome, 1986). W. Bulst, 'Hercules-Arbeiten. Untersuchungen zu den Darstellungen der Taten des Helden in der bildenden Kunst des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts' (Ph.D. thesis; Heidelberg, 1974, forthcoming).

was Edward IV's brother-in-law. When Edward of York was banished by his Lancastrian rival, he fled to Bruges and there, at the centre of Burgundian art and culture, spent a period of exile as the guest of the celebrated bibliophile Louis of Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse.[100] After he had regained power in 1471, he had a great memorial compiled on the royal household of England, *The Black Book of the Household of Edward IV*, which is comparable both in scope and ambition with Charles the Bold's household ordinances of 1468–9, though there are no direct borrowings from that source and its organization is quite different. The editor of this text, Alec Reginald Myers, was of the opinion that 'The desire to vie with the court of Burgundy . . . may well have been one of the reasons which prompted the compilation of the Black Book.'[101] In this case, the influence would have consisted in the transmission of a higher standard of luxury. Remarkably, the only known manuscript of Charles's general household ordinance of 1469 is to be found in the Bodleian Library of Oxford.[102] I do not know how it reached England.

We do, however, know from his own testimony that in November 1474 Olivier de la Marche had a copy made of his description of the court and military forces of Charles the Bold at the request of William Ross, 'victualler of Calais'. It was commissioned by William, Lord Hastings, who wished to possess a copy of that text to assist in the preparation of his

[100] Cf. J. Huizinga, 'Koning Eduard IV van Engeland in ballingschap', *Mélanges Henri Pirenne* (Brussels, 1926), i. 245–56. C. A. J. Armstrong, 'L'Échange culturel entre les cours d'Angleterre et de Bourgogne à l'époque de Charles le Téméraire', in idem, *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1983), pp. 403–17 (1st pub. 1977).

[101] A. R. Myers (ed.), *The Household of Edward IV, the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 3 f., 33. Cf. A. R. Myers's collected studies, *Crown, Household and Parliament in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 1985), and K. Mertes, 'The Liber Niger of Edward IV: A New Version', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 54 (1981), pp. 29–39. On the king's court during the Wars of the Roses see Griffiths (ch. 1), in this vol., and V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (edd.), *English Court Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1981); K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250–1600* (London, 1987).

[102] Above, n. 5. On the other side, the only medieval account of the English royal chapel, written by its dean, William Say, for presentation to the king of Portugal in the middle of the 15th cent. survives at the Public Library of Evra: W. Ullmann (ed.), *Liber Regie Capelle* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 92; Cambridge, 1961).

king's expedition against France in 1475.[103] Thus it is certain that a manuscript went abroad during Charles's lifetime, but this English copy does not seem to have been preserved.

It was not, however, until a generation later under the Tudor king Henry VII, that 'Burgundian culture' reached its high point in England, as Gordon Kipling has shown so impressively.[104] At that stage it contributed, alongside Italian influences, to that 'learned chivalry' which marks the English Renaissance. Certainly Kipling still owes us proof that the English adopted from the Burgundians not only bibliophilism and a taste for Flemish art, literature, and architecture, but also the organization and regulation of court life. All the same, 'The Triumph of Honour', the wedding ceremony of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon in 1501, was the first of a series of court celebrations and tournaments in the Burgundian tradition, one of which, 'The Field of Cloth of Gold', held in 1520 to mark the meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I of France near Calais, is still remembered today.[105] Another event of this kind, the meeting between Henry VIII and Maximilian I near Tournai in 1513, was, incidentally, a rather embarrassing affair for the emperor, on account of his relative poverty.[106] The prayer book which James IV of Scotland had produced for him in Flanders on the occasion of his marriage with Margaret Tudor in 1503 shows that this Anglo-Burgundian culture also reached Scotland.[107]

[103] Armstrong, 'L'échange culturel' (above, n. 100), p. 515; idem, 'The Golden Age' (above, n. 32), p. 56, both without indication of sources. Cf. D. H. Turner (ed.), *The Hasting Hours. A XVth-century Flemish Book of Hours made for William, Lord Hastings, now in the British Library, London* (London, 1983).

[104] G. Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden, 1977), and see A. B. Ferguson, *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England* (Washington, DC, 1986); D. Starkey (ed.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987).

[105] S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969). Cf. idem, 'Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms; Smithfield, June 1467', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 217 (1965), pp. 271–83. On the meeting of 1520 see L. J. G. Russel, *The Field of Cloth of Gold, Men and Manners in 1520* (London, 1969), and R. Marks and A. Payne (edd.), *British Heraldry from its Origins to c.1800* (exhibition catalogue; London, 1978), n. 67 and colour-plate.

[106] H. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.* (5 vols.; Munich, 1971–86), iv (1981), pp. 125 f., 546 n. 65; v (1986), p. 399.

[107] Thoss, *Buchmalerei* (above, n. 5), no 74. F. Unterkirchner (ed.), *Gebetbuch Jakobs IV. von Schottland* (Codices selecti, 85; Graz, 1987).

3.4. The Netherlands and Austria

It has been shown that the Burgundian court was already being imitated in Germany, Italy, and England at the time of the Valois dukes. It was in the lands of the house of Habsburg, however, that it exerted its greatest influence.

Did the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 signify the end of the Burgundian court? Certainly it was the end of the ostentation and excessive splendour prevailing under the last duke. Militarization receded, and the court became normal again in size, scope, and pretensions. It was, however, in other respects still the Burgundian court with the specific features described above. Mary of Burgundy's court had the same structure as Charles V's before he become Holy Roman Emperor.[108] In order to create new household ordinances, the old ones were copied out, catalogued, and consulted.[109] The fact that the new rulers were from the house of Habsburg made no difference as long as they remained simply rulers of the Netherlands. Maximilian, however, never reconciled himself to remaining within that framework and Philip the Fair did so only until he became king of Spain. The same goes for Charles V. Maximilian became king of the Romans as early as 1486 and Charles V succeeded him in 1519. Did the Habsburg court therefore adopt Burgundian ceremonial?

At this point, I must again emphasize how little research has been done on this subject. Useful comparisons can only be

[108] E.g. ordinances of Mary of Burgundy, 26 Mar. 1477 (Rijksarchief Gent, Raad van Vlaanderen, F no. 45, and Arch. dep. Nord, Lille, B 19.445, fos. 240–304v, unpub.). Of Maximilian, Sept. 1477, ed. L.-P. Gachard, *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 2/9 (1857), pp. 117–27, no. 163. Of Philip the Fair, 1494, ed. J. Chmel, *Urkunden, Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Maximilans I.* (Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins zu Stuttgart, 10; Tübingen, 1845), pp. 537–44, no. 373; 1497, ed. F. de Reiffenberg, *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 11 (1846), pp. 677–718; 1501, ed. L.-P. Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, i (Brussels, 1876), pp. 345–72. Of Charles V, 1515, ed. Gachard, *Collection des voyages*, ii (Brussels, 1876/ 82), pp. 451–501; cf. K. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V.* (2 vols.; Munich, 1937, 1941), ii. 80 f., 409–15.

[109] See e.g. Paravicini, 'Hofordnungen', 1 (above, n. 2), p. 145, no. 2 (1409), MS *D* (1515), and p. 149, no. 3 (1415), MS *F* (1515); 2, no. 5 (1426/27), p. 261, MS D^1 (Inventory of 1520); 4, no. 7, preliminary n. 1 (idem), no. 9, MS D^1 (beginning of the 16th cent.). The only surviving copy of the 1474 ordinance (above, n. 25) is from the same week.

made on the basis of a precise and thorough knowledge of what is to be compared. Furthermore, only strictly contemporaneous features can be compared, avoiding the trap of taking general practice for something specific. Research of this type has not—and to some extent, it cannot—yet be done, given that the great household ordinances of Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and their successors are still unpublished, to mention only the richest sources for one of the courts concerned. As a result, the following remarks can only be tentative. As German king and emperor, Maximilian I adopted none of the essential elements of Dutch-Burgundian court organization, which he knew so well from his years as regent. It is probable, however, that his love of mummery, tournaments, and music went back to that period.[110] His son Philip and grandson Charles (the names speak for themselves), who had grown up in the Netherlands, and their heirs, did, however, live according to pure Burgundian tradition. Maximilian's generally more modest court never attained the magnitude of their court, nor even of that of Sigismund of Tirol in Innsbruck.[111]

It is generally believed that things were different in the case of the German king, Ferdinand I, brother of Charles V. He had grown up in Spain and had lived in the Netherlands between 1518 and 1521. His household ordinances of 1527 and 1537, which remained basic texts for generations, are regularly cited as proof of Burgundian influence on the Austrian court.[112] This has not, however, been solidly

[110] Wiesflecker, *Maximilian I.*, v. 380 f., 393–9.

[111] M. Ortwein, 'Der Innsbrucker Hof zur Zeit Erzherzogs Sigmunds des Münzreichen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der materiellen Kultur', (Ph.D. thesis, Innsbruck, 1936). W. Maleczek, 'Die Sachkultur am Hofe Herzog Sigismunds von Tirol (†1496)', in *Adelige Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterl. Realienkunde Österreichs, 5; Vienna, 1982), pp. 133–67. W. Baum, *Sigmund der Münzreiche* (Bozen, 1987). But, as Moraw points out (ch. 4 in this vol.), the court of Maximilian gained much by Sigismund's inheritance.

[112] N. Castrillo-Benito, 'Tradition und Wandel im fürstlichen Hofstaat Ferdinands von Österreich, 1503–1564', in J. Engel (ed.), *Mittel und Wege früher Verfassungspolitik* (Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit, 9; Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 406–55. Cf. H. C. Ehalt, *Ausdrucksformen absolutistischer Herrschaft: der Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1980), pp. 34–6; V. Press, 'The Habsburg Court as Center of Imperial Government', *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986), suppl., S23–S45, p. S28. For what follows cf. A. Walther, *Die burgundischen Zentralbehörden unter Maximilian I. und Karl V.* (Leipzig, 1909), app. 6 (pp. 168–92): 'Österreich und Burgund', esp. p. 179;

established. The elevated position of the great master of the household in that system has its origin not in Burgundy (where the highest rank belonged to the *premier chambellan*), but in Spain. It is to that country that we shall now turn in conclusion.

3.5. Spain

In 1337 in Spain, at a minor Aragonese court, the first household ordinance of the new type appeared; it is among the most extensive to be found anywhere. I refer to the *Leges Palatinae* of King James II of Mallorca, which deal not with money and provisions, but the dignity and grandeur of the king, as well as questions of rank and ceremonial. This ordinance, which was adopted by Aragon in 1344 and spread to Castile in 1386,[113] contained everything that was to be the practice at the court of Philip II two hundred years later. The move from the patriarchal to the 'absolutist' court had already occurred. A household ordinance published at about the same time, in 1336 and in 1340 by an equally minor prince, the Dauphin Humbert II, is similarly detailed and ambitious.[114] These texts, neither of which originated at great courts, question what the more or less general practice must have been in those cases where nothing was written down. The original manuscript of the *Leges Palatinae*, or at least the only contemporary illuminated copy, came into the possession of King Philip VI of France, whose son John II presented it as a

Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, p. 294: 'die bisherige Annahme einer vollständigen Übernahme des spanischen Hofzeremoniells am Kaiserhof in Wien [ist] schlechthin in Frage zu stellen'; and see below, n. 125.

[113] Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, pp. 30 f., 48–50, with bibliography; in particular K. Schwarz, *Aragonische Hofordnungen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Abhandlungen zur Mittleren u. Neueren Geschichte, 54; Berlin, 1914) and C. A. Willemsen, 'Zur Genesis der mittelalterlichen Hofordnungen. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Leges Palatinae Jakobs II v. Mallorka', *Staatliche Akademie Braunsberg. Personal- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis. 2. Trimester* (Gumbinnen, 1940), pp. 1–40. See further M. Durliat, 'La Cour de Jacques II de Majorque (1324–1340) d'après les "Lois palatines" ', (Thèse complém. lettres; Paris, 1962). P. Bohigas, 'La Illuminación de les "Leges Palatinae" de Mallorca', *Scriptorium*, 23 (1969), pp. 94–100. O. Shena, *Le Leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona* (Cagliari, 1983). See also below, n. 115.

[114] Archive département Isère, Grenoble, B 3019, printed by Valbonnais, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Dauphiné* (Paris, 1711), pp. 326–34, 407–25, and idem, *Histoire de Dauphiné* (Paris, 1722), ii. 311–18, 391–405.

gift to the first Valois duke of Burgundy. The manuscript remained in the possession of the house of Burgundy until Charles's second wife, Isabella of Bourbon, gave it to her 'Chevalier d'Honneurs', Guillaume de la Baume.[115] It was therefore no longer in his library when Duke Charles prepared his great court ordinances. It would be missing the point to argue that this manuscript had influenced Burgundian thinking on court ceremonial. It is evidence merely of a general interest in texts of this type, followed by the decline of this interest, astonishingly enough, in the reign of Charles the Bold.

For want of adequate evidence, I shall leave aside the question what influence Burgundy had on the court of Aragon, which is traditionally associated with it, and later on the court of Aragon-Castile which was united in 1474,[116] and come directly to the one phenomenon that is proven beyond doubt and seems unambiguous. On 15 August 1548, on the feast of the Assumption, a new form of ceremonial came into force at the court of Philip II in Valladolid after six months of preparation. His father, Charles V, had sent the duke of Alba from Augsburg with instructions for this. All contemporary observers are clearly agreed that what occurred was the introduction of *Burgundian* court ceremonial.[117] Such explicit testimony can hardly be doubted. Lack of comparable texts and comparative studies,[118] however, makes it impossible to

[115] Bibl. roy., Brussels, MS 9169. Cf. *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon* (exhibition catalogue; Brussels, 1967), no. 80; *Manuscrits et imprimés anciens en fac-similé de 1600 à 1984* (exhibition catalogue; Brussels, 1984), no. 3 a–b (repr. in the *Acta Sanctorum Junii*, Antwerp, 1701); *L'Héraldique dans les manuscrits antérieurs à 1600* (exhibition catalogue; Brussels, 1985), no. 49. Cf. Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, pp. 48–50.

[116] Hofmann is rather sceptical about this influence.

[117] Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, pp. 45, 71–3, and *passim*. Cf. K. Brandi, *Karl V.*, i. 25, 492; ii. 66, 506; Pfandl, *Einführung* (above, n. 81). M. de Fernandy, 'Die theatralische Bedeutung des spanischen Hofzeremoniells Kaiser Karls V.', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47 (1965), pp. 306–20. Castrillo-Benito, 'Tradition' (above, n. 112), pp. 454 f. The Castilian element did not disappear altogether, but was limited to the external guard and hunting offices; in fact, there were now 2 households, the inner Casa de Borgoña, and the outer, very aristocratic, Casa de Castilla (Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, p. 206). On the court of Philip II see Rodriéguez-Salgado, ch. 8, in this vol.

[118] Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, is an attempt in this direction, but comparison is difficult when there is no comprehensive study on the Burgundian court as there is none on the Spanish; the author is fully aware of this fact: 'Man kann also ohne weiteres feststellen, daß über das spezifische Burgundische Hofzeremoniell nur sehr wenig bekannt ist' (p. 46).

verify this assertion or to arrive at a more differentiated understanding of it. Which Burgundy is being referred to? That of Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Philip the Fair, or Charles V?[119] Olivier de la Marche's *Livre des conseils touchant les usags et manières de la cour*[120] is lost, as is that *Livre des estats de la France* mentioned by Aliénor de Poitiers.[121] All that is certain is that Olivier de la Marche's description of Charles the Bold's court was circulating in several Spanish translations during the sixteenth century,[122] and that it was said that Emperor Charles's court conformed to this description in 1545 'and at present'.[123] I do not, however, know of copies or originals of Burgundian household ordinances from the Valois period in Spain.[124] On the one hand, the changes of 1547–8 show that Burgundian influences in Spain cannot previously have been so strong; otherwise their appearance would not have caused such a stir. On the other hand, however, they raise the question just what was 'Burgundian': what made the new ways so different from the old? What I have outlined

[119] Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, suggests, pp. 63 f., that Charles (V) stressed the importance of the chapel, which took the first place in his ordinances, thus expressing a further sacralization of the court; and that governmental institutions (the councils) ceased to be a part of the household, thus diminishing in fact the political importance of the household and the court in general. Both developments are already Burgundian. The general ordinance of 1469 (above, n. 2) opens with the chapel, as does the ordinance of 1474 (above, n. 25), and see above, nn. 60–4. Cf. the interesting *aperçu* of P. Chaunu, *L'Espagne de Charles Quint*, i (Paris, 1973), p. 58: '. . . l'Espagne dominante du XVI^e^, . . . l'Espagne tardive du siècle d'Or, est une Espagne réinterprétée à travers l'héritage bourguignon qu'elle a incorporée et dont elle a mieux conservé les traits que la Bourgogne elle-même.'

[120] Mentioned in the edition of his *Mémoires* (above, n. 7), i (1883), p. cxxviii.

[121] De Poitiers, *Les Honneurs* (above, n. 6), pp. 195 f., 237; cf. Paravicini, 'Soziale Schichtung', p. 136 n. 45.

[122] For these trans. see the edition of his *Mémoires*, (1883), pp. cxviii–cxix; L.-P. Gachard, *Les Bibliothèques de Madrid et de l'Escorial* (Brussels, 1875), pp. 5–11 (nos. 6–8), and (partly French text) M. van Durme, *Les Archives générales de Simancas et l'histoire de la Belgique*, i (Brussels, 1964), pp. 145, 156; iii (1968), pp. 157, 196.

[123] J. de Sigoney, *Relación*, pub. in his French trans. by A. de Ridder, 'Les Règlements de la cour de Charles-Quint', *Messager des sciences historiques*, 61 (1893), pp. 292–418; 62 (1894), pp. 36–52, 108–201, 280–91. Cf. Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, pp. 58–63, 77, no. 3, pp. 209–13. Sigoney remarks that Charles's court was quite different from the Burgundian court, and that this was so by Charles's deliberate choice. (I was not able to consult A. de Ridder's book *La Cour de Charles Quint*, Bruges, 1889.)

[124] Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, p. 50 n. 2, has found a 'copy' of the 1458 ordinance of Philip the Good in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Coll. de Salazar, K 58. It is, in matter of fact, a Spanish translation of the mid-seventeenth century (fol. 66r–114v).

above as specifically Burgundian features could be taken as a starting-point for further investigation. In 1941 Karl Brandi wrote: 'It would be worth making a thorough re-examination of all the historical material that is available.'[125] This is still true today.

[125] Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V.* ii. 80, speaking of the German court ordinances, ed. A. Kern, *Deutsche Hofordnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1905–7): '. . . geben wohl allerlei Vergleichsmöglichkeiten, zeigen im einzelnen jedoch wenig Berührungen mit den burgundischen. Die ganze Materie würde eine durchgreifende Neubehandlung wohl lohnen.' Cf. Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, p. 296: 'So kann ingesamt festgestellt werden, daß hinsichtlich der Tradierung und der Ausprägung des Spanischen Hofzeremoniells am Wiener Kaiserhof noch lauter Unbekannte zu setzen sind—eine gründliche Untersuchung dieses Problemkomplexes also faktisch aussteht.'